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form their own conclusions. He has carefully brought under our view the principal cases which have come to a fatal issue, and has spoken freely of the dangers which attend the improper use of ether and chloroform. His evident zeal in the cause gives his book an interest which a mere inquiry would not have. It is too early yet to write a systematic treatise upon etherization. Our author has not aimed at this, but has industriously collected into a body the evidence which had accumulated, to aid the medical profession in forming their decision as to the free or cautious use of it, or whether they should abandon it entirely.

Our own conclusion from such an examination is, that ether or chloroform is a remedy of the utmost value, and may be used with perfect safety under the direction of a physician. We have alluded to the unfavorable effects of etherization, sufficiently to show that it is a highly dangerous agent in the hands of the rash or ignorant. It ought not to be used any more than calomel or laudanum, except under medical direction. Still less should it be used for the mere purpose of amusement. We conclude, also, from the same evidence, that its use is safer in midwifery and the larger surgical operations, than in the minor ones. Most of the unfavorable effects which have occurred took place when it was given for tooth-pulling. Pain and loss of blood may both be considered as counter-agents, which neutralize its effects, and render them more safe.

ART. III. — 1. *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil, embracing Historical and Geographical Notices of the Empire and its Several Provinces.* By D. P. KIDDER. New York: 1845. 2 vols. 8vo.

2. *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, principally through the Northern Provinces, and the Gold and Diamond Districts, during the years 1836-41.* By G. GARDNER. London: 1846. 8vo.

It is now somewhat more than twenty years since the Empire of Brazil emerged from the obscure existence of a

Colony into the condition of an independent State. By far the largest country of the South American continent, having unbounded natural resources, with a sea-coast extending for thousands of miles and supplied with excellent harbors, traversed by majestic rivers and still more majestic mountains, enjoying every variety of delightful climate, and fruitful throughout its vast extent beyond example even in tropical climes, it seems to have all the elements necessary to awaken enterprise or attract curiosity. Its external features, perhaps, have been sufficiently explored and described. The zeal of science and the restless enterprise of commerce have contributed to make the natural history and characteristics of this country tolerably well known to all, or at least, to render information on these subjects easily accessible to those who choose to investigate them. Large regions, indeed, lost in the vast territory nominally belonging to the Empire, remain unexplored. Some distant tribes of Indians may yet be unknown, and in hidden valleys, no doubt, many a curious flower, yet unmarked in the catalogues of botanists, blushes unseen. It is probable, however, that little remains to be discovered which would materially affect an estimate of the natural features of the country.

But while the mountains and rivers of Brazil have been explored and measured, its broad plains traversed, and its mineral and botanical treasures laid open to the admiration of the civilized world, the people who possess this magnificent land attract but little notice. The character and history, the manners and customs, the institutions, the present condition and probable future, of a nation which is destined at some time to include a portion of mankind as large as the share it now occupies of the earth's surface, are subjects which are very little understood or cared for. It is not easy for us, inhabiting the northern hemisphere, which has been throughout all history almost the exclusive abode of civilization, to recognize as belonging to the family of civilized nations, a country which lies almost wholly beyond the line, and whose capital and principal provinces are under the tropic of Capricorn. With the distant regions of the South we are accustomed to connect only ideas of barbarian rudeness or splendor; and it is only some particular occasion which is likely to correct the uniform impressions of our education.

Besides its remote position, Brazil is separated from most of the world by the use of a language which is little known, and offers but little to reward the trouble of acquiring it. The Portuguese language is hardly calculated to produce a favorable first impression, — if language that can properly be called, which has all the low characteristics of a mere dialect. It is Spanish, if such a name can be deserved where there is none of the dignity and grandeur which distinguish that most majestic of languages. Like other acknowledged dialects, it seems to be formed by dropping the consonants, that give distinctness to the pronunciation of the original language, and by dissolving down its grave and noble intonations into a confused mass of vowel and nasal sounds, with much the same effect upon the language which it would produce upon the human body to abstract all the bones of the skeleton. Moreover, being almost without a literature of modern date, that is to say, having ceased to appear in the world as the vehicle of elevated thought, it has but few means of removing upon further acquaintance the first unfavorable impression.

The imperfect knowledge of the affairs of Brazil which comes to us through such a channel, relating, as it does, only to the most prominent events, which are left unconnected and unexplained, has given an unfavorable idea of her national character. We are accustomed to think of this country only as the last refuge of the African slave trade, and of her national industry and prosperity as indissolubly linked with that infamous traffic, which all the civilized world has stigmatized as piracy and combined to suppress. From time to time, also, some rumor of political commotions indistinctly reaches our ears, — some insurrection in the provinces, or revolution in the capital ; for three times since its independence has the government changed hands in the midst of revolutionary outbreaks, besides experiencing occasional republican and servile disturbances. If this were all, if these vague impressions were capable of giving a true idea of the character and condition of this great Empire, or if we did not discover, in the course of its affairs, something which seems of more importance than the interminable conflicts of South American republics, we should be quite content to allow them to remain as they are, without attempting to throw light upon so unprofitable a subject. But circumstances having afforded us some

peculiar means of information concerning Brazil, we propose to offer some remarks upon its present political and social condition, and upon a few other subjects immediately connected with it.

In the first place, the most interesting object of political speculation is the spectacle of a great monarchy flourishing on American soil — the only one which can be said to have ever existed in America — for the few military or social dictatorships, which have assumed a monarchical aspect for a time, are hardly deserving of the name. This is a monarchy, also, not composed of a homogeneous and easily governed population, collected within a narrow compass, but extending over immense and disconnected regions, containing every variety of inhabitants and every grade of civilization, from European refinement to African barbarism. It is surrounded by violent republics; the very air that blows over it from any other part of America is tainted with republican feeling; and its unguarded frontier and provinces, with their prodigious natural wealth, are a perpetual temptation to foreign invasion and domestic ambition. That a monarchy could exist under such circumstances is sufficiently remarkable; but it becomes still more curious, when we see the Empire from its birth continually advancing in wealth, strength, and reputation, in civilization and the arts of peace, while the republics, its neighbors, are wasted by intestine wars, their population decreasing, their industry annihilated, education forgotten among them, and the people constantly losing ground in every respect which makes a nation prosperous, powerful, or happy. We cannot help asking what are the causes which have made so wide a difference in their condition, and whether that difference will continue to exist, or whether the same unhappy fate is reserved for Brazil which seems to await the republics of the Spanish race.

There are also social questions connected with the condition of Brazil, which, as they are always of more consequence than political matters to the people concerned, are also more interesting to others as objects of investigation. Whoever is inclined to speculate upon the future destiny of our own country, especially of the southern portion of it, cannot fail to be interested by the aspect of Brazilian society. The questions which agitate it most deeply, the social prob-

lems which are there in process of solution, are not unlike those which occupy the attention of serious people in our own land ; while the result to which society is rapidly tending there is far different from any that is usually contemplated among us. In Brazil, even more than in this country, the institution of slavery exists in its full vigor. It is expanded over the whole empire, a field where it has even wider opportunity to unfold itself than our recent acquisitions of territory have opened to it here. The slave population there increases more rapidly, by means of the easy and constant importation from Africa, in addition to the natural increase ; and all the considerations connected with this difficult and important subject are undergoing a more rapid development. The future condition of that country is as deeply implicated as our own in the answer which the great question as to the future of this population, and as to the tendencies and ultimate result of the institution which now confines them, shall receive. There, as well as here, the question is forced upon the minds of all, What shall become of them or of our children ?

Brazil is situated between 4° north and 33° south latitude. Between these parallels it extends almost the whole breadth of the South American continent, from the sea-coast to the Andes. It is supposed to contain at present a population of nearly seven millions, of whom about three millions are estimated to be negro slaves ; the remainder are whites, aboriginal Indians, free negroes, and a large mixed population arising from a union of all these classes. The whites are set down at a million and a half.

Of the history of the country we do not propose to say more than is necessary to account for its present situation. At the commencement of the year 1808, it was a Portuguese colony, sealed against all the world by the strictest application of the colonial policy. It is well known, that a short time before that date, on the unexpected advance of Junot upon Lisbon, the royal family of Portugal, attended by many of their court and nobility, took refuge on board some ships of war, and set sail for Brazil, then the principal dependency of the crown of Portugal. The consequences of this measure, the result of the desperation and probably the cowardice of the moment, upon the fortunes of both countries have been far more important than any persons at that time could have

foreseen. The royal fugitives, barely escaping with their lives from the capital of their native kingdom, were received with loyalty, respect, and every demonstration of attachment in those distant dominions, upon which they had probably hardly ever wasted a thought; and the important benefits which they were able to confer, the immediate change of commercial policy which was introduced, naturally confirmed and strengthened the attachment which was at first the offspring of sympathy and tradition. They landed at Bahia, January 19th, 1808; and as early as January 28th, all the ports of Brazil were opened to the commerce of the world. In 1815, Brazil was erected into a kingdom, nominally, at least, equal to, and independent of Portugal.

But an arbitrary government of court favorites, careful for nothing but to secure the spoils of their offices, was the one of all others best calculated to encourage the spirit of discontent with which the colonies of South America began about this time to be agitated; and on the return of the king, Don John VI. to Portugal, April 26th, 1821, a large portion of the Brazilian people were already ripe for separation from the mother country. This separation would undoubtedly have taken place, and have been accompanied, as in the case of all Spanish America, by the formation of a republican government, if it had not been provided against by the appointment of Don Pedro, the heir to the crown, as regent, and his residence in the country. The separation, indeed, soon occurred, forced by the necessities of the case, in 1822; but it was not effected, as it otherwise would have been, by a patriot general at the head of a popular army. In the front of the movement of separation stood the Prince Regent, at that time the head of the government of the country, and the heir of the united kingdom. It was accepted as a compromise between the former government, which was perceived to be no longer possible, and the republic, which was seen to be otherwise inevitable. Rather than surrender forever, for himself and his family, the dominion of half a continent, the Prince Regent refused to obey the decree of the Cortes recalling him to Portugal, and proclaimed himself Emperor and Perpetual Defender of Brazil. His part, as leader of the revolution, was well sustained; no reluctance or hesitation, even if it was felt, was allowed to manifest itself. The

prince himself was the first to announce, that the decisive moment of separation had arrived ; his was the rallying cry, "Independencia o morte," uttered upon the receipt of despatches from Portugal, on the banks of a small stream in one of the southern provinces ; and it became the watchword of the Brazilians during the contest. This was neither long nor severe ; with some assistance from the English fleet, the separation was easily accomplished, and the Portuguese troops were removed from the country.

But although by his conduct in their behalf, the Emperor had secured the affections of his subjects, the establishment of independence became, as is usual in such cases, the signal for the commencement of political difficulties to the Empire. Freed from its connection with the mother country, it was left in a manner without any certain government ; that is, without any which could discharge the most important office of a government, by giving moral security and confidence to the people. For a few years, it was doubtful what form of government would be finally adopted. The army, officered mostly by native Portuguese, and obnoxious to the Brazilians, was ready to support the emperor in the continuance of his unsettled, if not absolute authority. But the republican party, strongly organized by secret societies, became active and threatening, so that even the moderate ministers, in whose hands the direction of affairs was placed, — the brothers Andreada, the most distinguished statesmen whom Brazil has yet produced, and who were the supporters of a constitutional monarchy, — were forced to adopt arbitrary measures. After several revolutions, as they might be called, a constitution was finally proposed by the emperor, and sworn to by the cities and provinces ; the republicans were expelled from their strong-hold of Pernambuco, and the government established essentially on its present basis. This occurred during the year 1824.

Produced under such circumstances, and intended to compose such hostile elements, the political constitution of Brazil is in the form of a constitutional monarchy, of which the crown is devolved upon what may now be called the younger branch of the house of Braganza, with the imperial title. The legislative power resides in two assemblies or chambers, of which the lower house is elected by the people of the

different provinces, the number of representatives being proportioned to the population, while the senate is nominated by the emperor from a triple list of candidates designated by the electors. A moderate property qualification is required both for electors and members. The general conduct of executive affairs and the foreign relations is committed to the emperor and the ministers whom he appoints; the internal policy of the country, the raising of the revenue, laying taxes, apportionment of expense, &c., belongs to the Congress, over whose acts the emperor has only a qualified veto. He cannot refuse his assent to a law which has received the sanction of two successive assemblies. The ministers are responsible. In accordance, perhaps, with the traditional manners of the monarchy, the emperor is treated with much ceremony and deference. Court days and presentations are conducted with their accustomed solemnity. The emperor rides attended by a guard of honor, and whenever he appears at Rio Janeiro, his majesty is saluted by the discharges of innumerable cannon, and his house is called a palace.

But the legislators of Brazil have taken the most effectual measures against the undue independence of the imperial power, by keeping his majesty sufficiently poor. The civil list amounts only to \$400,000, out of which a number of pensions are to be paid, and a considerable body of soldiers supported; so that some economy is said to be required in the royal housekeeping, — imperial economy, be it understood.

Besides the members of the two chambers, and other persons possessed of political power, and who of course receive its titles and honors, it has been the custom to confer upon distinguished individuals various ranks of titular authority. The grant confers a title and social distinction only, neither pension, power, nor hereditary succession attending it. But the institution has not appeared absurd; the nobility are few, and to be one of them is still a distinction. A small standing army is maintained; also, a small but very creditable navy, most bountifully officered.

While thus, in its apparent form, the government of Brazil is a monarchy after the English school, in its practical operation it much resembles the constitution of the United States. However skilfully a government may have been adapted to a particular purpose, however artfully its checks and balances

may have been contrived, the real disposition of power will always depend upon the habits and education, the character and tendencies of a people, and upon the counterpoise of neutralizing interests. It is these alone which determine what shall be attempted on the one hand, and what will be resisted or submitted to on the other. In Brazil, the monarchical power, unsupported by a strong aristocratic interest, battered and weakened by the assaults to which at various times it has been subjected, has been unable to control the democratical element, which exists either in the government or unformed in the heart of society. Under ordinary circumstances, the executive authority easily exercises its delegated constitutional functions; but when driven to exertion, it has always soon appeared that the real power was in the body of the people. Notwithstanding its monarchical form and title, a better idea of the substantial nature of the government may be obtained by considering it as a republic, having at its head an immovable chief magistrate.

One circumstance, which contributed undoubtedly to this result, is that the empire is divided into eighteen different provinces, from which the representatives are separately elected to the National Assemblies. The local concerns and internal administration of the provinces are provided for by their local councils or legislatures, in the same manner as by the legislatures of our several States. Each has its capital, its provincial offices, and complete, though subordinate, political and municipal organization. The feelings of the people also are swayed by natural rivalry and provincial patriotism. Such a division of territory, as well as of the powers of government, assimilates the country in appearance to the United States, and cannot fail to produce other important resemblances in the working of the two political systems.

But the most important feature of the government, and the one which is soonest apparent to an observer who has been accustomed to the active and stirring governments of the North, establishes at once the widest distinction between Brazil and the United States. To such a person, what appears most extraordinary in the state of the country is the absence of that most powerful agent in modern society, public opinion. He strangely feels the loss of that criticism to which he has been unconsciously accustomed to refer whatever

happens. There hardly exists in the Empire any definite and concentrated action of the public mind, whether directed to politics or any other subject. Whatever course the government may decide upon is perhaps wondered at, but is easily accepted without much opposition or discussion. But if it is thus exempted from a troublesome supervision, it is not able to call in that public countenance and aid, which is more powerful than any material assistance. In this respect, the silent operation of natural causes seems to have triumphed over those political combinations which ought to have produced a different result. Although the press is entirely free, as free as in England or the United States, and in the principal cities, especially in Rio de Janeiro, this freedom has been fully exercised, yet in other districts of the Empire, the sparseness of the population, the isolated habits of domestic life, the general defect of education, and, above all, the enervating influence of a tropical climate, do not allow the press to exert its proper influence. The immense distance and complete separation of many of the provinces from each other, the fact that they can communicate only by sea, and the production by most of them of the same class of commodities, which is not favorable to commercial intercourse, render it almost impossible to disseminate the information and prepare the union upon which public opinion is founded. And even were these difficulties less serious, or should they hereafter be overcome, it is doubtful if the genius of the people, together with the sensual luxury of an existence which always invites to repose, and with an abundant supply for all their natural wants, would ever allow them to attain that activity and vigor of mind which are necessary for the creation of public opinion. To the formation of this immaterial product is devoted more of the intelligent labor of the community than to that of any other result which it produces. To be capable of such a public opinion, and of exercising its influence, a nation must have arrived at a high point of civilization, and have passed through the trying labors of national education,—a point at which Brazil has not yet arrived, even if the obstacles to which we have alluded did not make it impossible that she should ever reach it.

These general ideas, which are the result, while living in a society constituted like ours, only of abstract reflection, become

matter of immediate perception as soon as one is transferred to a society in which so important an element is wanting. And by the effect of its absence, we become aware of its great importance. That such a difference of circumstances must produce a corresponding diversity in the nature of all political action, will be easily seen. It is only through the continual activity of the general mind, through the comparison of opposite interests, and the laborious estimate of what is desirable and what is possible, by which public opinion is formed, that great parties in the government of a country can be created or sustained; and without them, the pursuit of politics assumes the character of a private and personal business. Such is its aspect in Brazil. Unsupported by, and irresponsible to any great permanent political parties, extending throughout the country, representing its various interests and concentrating its views, those persons whom accident, favorable position and connections, or personal ability have enabled to enter the arena of politics, act only in personal rivalry one against the other. The prize is for him who possesses the largest personal influence. Those who engage in the competition are induced to strengthen themselves in power, or prepare an entrance to it, by private connections, and perhaps by the arts of court favor. But the rivalry thus excited in a country like Brazil, where office is open to all, is a security against the chance of power falling into incompetent hands. It is the most direct encouragement of industry and education, as well as of talent; for these are the surest means of attaining and securing personal influence.

Accordingly, the short history of Brazil shows that she has always had intelligent and able men in her government; in the earlier periods, during and after her revolution, the rulers in her councils would have compared favorably with the most accomplished statesmen of those times, whether in America or Europe. The chief magistracy, which our own experience proves to be the glittering mark and principal bond of parties, being removed by the Brazilian constitution beyond the power of the people, and the means of education being so limited that the number of persons who are qualified to undertake the charges of government is very small, it is conformable neither to their interest nor their instinct to promote the formation of large political parties, even if it would not

be easier to overturn the government entirely than to create them.

That a government so situated and administered must be very different in its nature from any of those of the same name to which we are accustomed, is evident. To what degree it is adapted to the character of the people, and likely to secure a long duration, the short period during which it has existed hardly enables us to form an opinion. This question, also, is dependent upon other causes, both external and internal, which it is difficult to appreciate rightly, so that it would be idle to speculate upon it. Much will undoubtedly depend upon the conduct of the present emperor, a young man twenty-three or twenty-four years of age, of a reserved and obstinate disposition, it is said, but of good character and devoted to business.

In regard to the effective strength of such a government, there can be but one opinion. We are apt to allow our imaginations to be dazzled by the exhibitions of physical force, which are sometimes made by the governments of uneducated or even barbarous nations, — by their hosts of cavalry and armies innumerable, and to attribute to these convulsive demonstrations more importance than they deserve. For what ability has such a government to resist attacks from without or from within, in comparison with one which rests upon the affections of its subjects or citizens, and which is itself the expression of their united opinion? They are unable to make those great efforts to promote the education or material prosperity of a nation, upon which the merit and efficiency of a good government depends. Without intending to rank Brazil among barbarous nations, it is evident, we think, that its government cannot undertake many of the offices which are performed by governments of a higher class, and in which their best and most useful qualities are manifested. Whatever may be its duration under its present form, or whatever changes it may undergo, it will necessarily be long before it can assume those duties of national education and the development of the national resources, which we are accustomed to regard as the most important trust and obligation imposed upon a government.

It is by the export of what are called colonial products, sugar, coffee, and the like, and by the produce of her diamond

mines, that Brazil is best known in the commercial world. These are the products of slave labor. As is well known, Brazil is a slave country. We do not intend to present any estimate of the amount of her productions, or of the importance of the country in a commercial point of view ; but shall confine our remarks principally to the condition of the inhabitants. As is the case in other countries where slavery exists, there is great inequality of condition even among the free population. While there are large estates owned by a few great proprietors, or belonging in various ways to the Church and its dependents, a great portion of the inhabitants are not only poor themselves, but are shut out from the chance of acquiring property in the only mode of which they have any knowledge, — that is, by the labor of other people. Among the wealthy proprietors there is said to exist a kind of rude splendor and luxury ; while the happy climate, and the fertility of almost every district of Brazil, secure even the poorest from the fear of physical suffering and the worst evils of poverty.

The agriculture presents the usual features of slave cultivation, being conducted in the unskilful method of imperfectly cultivating large tracts of land to exhaustion, and then leaving them fallow to recover their power of production. The extent and cheapness of uncultivated land, however, as well as the vigor of tropical vegetation, have thus far prevented the desolation which has fallen upon some parts of our own country that are cultivated in this manner, and which is the invariable tendency of this style of agriculture. Many efforts have been made to improve its character ; it has been under the especial patronage of government ; the highest inducements have been offered to promote colonization, and several settlements of European laborers, especially of Germans, have been formed at different places. An attempt was made some years since to naturalize the cultivation of tea in San Paulo, one of the southern provinces, and a colony of Chinese was imported, along with the plants, to carry on the process. But the usual fate of free colonies in slave countries seems to have befallen them all ; after a season of prosperity, they appear to die out by inward decay. The production of tea, however, of late, has somewhat revived. Brazilian tea is now an established article in the market of Rio Janeiro. We have seen some of

it which, after it had been kept for two years, was of excellent quality, and it is possible that it may yet become an important article of export.

Living thus under the same institutions, in almost the same manner, the condition of the people, who are thinly scattered over an immense territory, is essentially the same as in the slave States of our own country. As soon, however, as they are collected together in cities and populous districts, so as to form a society in which peculiar national and moral dispositions begin to manifest themselves, a far different state of things becomes apparent. The uniform system of Anglo-Saxon colonization, which in one way or another always tends to the extermination of the aboriginal races, although events have proved it best for the colonists, and best for the future state of the country they have founded, is yet of too severe a character to be generally imitated. We do not now call to mind a single instance in which an Anglo-Saxon colony has so intermingled with the people of the country where it was established, as to produce a race or nation of half-blood; while of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, it would be almost as difficult to cite an opposite example. Those nations, having a character less rigorous and perhaps more affectionate than ours, instead of steadily repelling the native population, and crowding them backward before the advancing wave of their own progress, have always, to a greater or less degree, united with and adopted them. In Mexico, in Central America, and almost all over South America, whole nations of mixed races have sprung from such connections, and the blood of the whole people may be said to be affected by them.

In those parts of Brazil which have been longest and most completely occupied by Europeans, — in the neighborhood of Rio Janeiro, for instance, — the tawny complexion and high cheek bones not unfrequently reveal the physiognomy of the Indian race, notwithstanding its long admixture with whites and negroes; and in other districts, this mixed race forms the greater portion, or the entire body of the population. But it is by no means in respect to the Indians alone, nor principally, that this inclination towards a general intermixture of races exhibits itself.

The most remarkable circumstance in the social state of

Brazil is, that between the white race and the black there is no division, or seems to be none, on the ground of color. The only distinction is between bond and free. The two races meet together in social intercourse upon a footing of perfect equality, if their position in life in other respects allows it. Intermarriages are made between them without changing their place in society upon either side. Not only the offices and powers of government are equally open to both classes, and in possession of both, but the blacks can enter every profession and business, and enjoy every means of social influence and advancement in life. We have known the wife of an admiral, whose hue was of the darkest among Africa's daughters. We have heard of the dismay of an American diplomatic agent at the entrance of a venerable jet black colonel into the court, where he had just undergone his presentation. It is not long since the minister of foreign affairs, the ambassador to England, and one of the most prominent lawyers of Rio Janeiro, and a member of the legislature were mulattoes; it is very likely that they hold these situations still. In the army, — the profession which is in all countries, *par excellence*, the profession of respectability, — if one may judge by the specimens seen in the capital and the military school for the education of officers, the great majority are of African descent; and among the officers, the proportion seems to be nearly the same as among the privates. We do not say that pure blood is not a quality upon which the possessors may pride themselves, or which may be regarded as a social distinction by others; but the instances mentioned show sufficiently that it does not form a separate caste or dividing line in society. It is looked upon in no other light than as pure Castilian descent is regarded in Old Spain, or family rank in England, which, no matter how much it may be prized as a personal distinction, does not hinder its possessor from associating on equal terms with others who have not this advantage.

Acting probably both as a cause and consequence, this social equality has advanced the admixture of the two races very far towards a perfect fusion. The whites are indeed, generally speaking, as might be expected, the most elevated class in the community; yet in every rank may be found numbers of every intermediate degree between the European

and African. Perhaps the impressions of individuals are not to be implicitly relied on ; yet it is said, with great appearance of truth, that it is already rare to meet with persons of entirely uncontaminated descent ; and certainly, in general society, nothing can be more imprudent than to presume upon it. The progress of such a union has no longer anything but time to oppose it ; the idea and habit have passed into the manners of domestic life and the structure of society ; it has become an accepted fact, which neither revolts nor astonishes. We observe that, at the last session of the Legislature, measures were in progress to equalize, as was said, still more the condition of the two races ; perhaps to remove some obsolete distinctive laws, which may yet linger upon the statute book. Contrary to what is usually considered the experience of this country in such cases, the offspring of the connection between the whites and blacks, far from being an emasculate and feeble race, inclined to disease and incapable of perpetuating itself, appears, in Brazil at least, equal in intelligence and energy to either of the races from which it proceeds. The mulattoes, including all varieties of cross-breeds, are commonly said to possess more capacity than any other class of the population, but to be, at the same time, more inclined to vice. They have certainly been able to secure their fair proportion of influence ; and we presume that we may, in great measure, attribute to their abilities and exertions the state of public feeling which we have described, and which coincides so exactly with their own interest.

In view of the circumstances which render it impossible for a people to stop when they have once entered upon such a course, the future character of the population of Brazil cannot admit of a question. In a little longer time, perhaps, than was requisite for the Normans to assimilate with the Saxons in England, or on the continent, for the German races to become blended with the descendants of the Romans, a different race of men from any that have hitherto appeared in history as a nation, — a race which in the process of time will become homogeneous, though sprung from a mixed origin, — will be spread over that vast country, and will be the inheritors and guardians of its European civilization. In an unusual, and perhaps fairer, manner than elsewhere, the capacity of the negro race for cultivation and improvement, or for con-

tinuing what descends to them, will be tested ; for the mixture of foreign blood is hardly a more favorable element on one side, than the contempt and scorn with which they are everywhere else beaten backward into barbarism, is an unjust and disregarded element upon the other. Here alone their capacity for civilization will be determined by their comparison with its highest representatives and models, the European race.

The general equality which exists between the two races does not lessen the security of the institution of slavery. It has probably even the contrary effect, since it allows all classes of the free population, blacks as well as whites, to become interested in its support. Instead of being founded in a general sentiment directed against all the individuals of a certain race or color, slavery becomes a merely personal relation between the master and slave, and, as appears to have been the case among the Greeks and Romans, the institution is strengthened rather than weakened by being placed upon this footing. Relieved from the appearance of a general proscription, it appears as one of those personal misfortunes to which all men endeavor to submit with a good grace, when they are inevitable. The manner of the slaves is generally less abject than elsewhere ; they seem to feel less degraded by their position. On the other hand, there is no disposition to relax the severity of bondage, but rather the contrary, when, as frequently happens in Brazil, blacks are subjected to masters of their own color. The existence of a class of free blacks in such numbers as they are found, for in the cities they are probably at least equal in number to the whites, is not easy to be accounted for. Some have obtained their freedom by their own exertions or the negligence of their masters. In some districts, emancipation has very generally taken place through partisan warfare, in which both parties have set at liberty those slaves who joined them from their opponents ; in others, fugitive colonies have been formed, which have sometimes maintained their independence for a considerable time. The principal cause, however, must be the frequent manumissions which take place in consequence of the intimate connections existing between master and slaves, and which have been encouraged by the uniform policy of the Catholic church.

The effect of these exemptions, which might in time have undermined the institution, has been hitherto counteracted, and the proportion of slaves kept good, by the perpetual introduction of a new supply through the African Slave Trade. The continuance of this traffic up to the present time introduces into the consideration of this subject an element which is peculiar to Brazil, and which is of paramount importance. It is plain, that the relation between the masters and their slaves is materially affected by the degree in which the latter are regarded as a mere article of commerce. Their importance as human beings, their comfort, and even their lives are but little considered, when their places can be supplied at a low cost from the market of labor. For the same reason, their natural increase will be discouraged, and they will be deprived of the protection which results even from long associations of dependence. That this is the most profitable method of carrying on the system of slavery, and of producing the commodities to which this species of labor is applied, the existence of the slave trade under all the difficulties to which it is subjected is sufficient proof. As long as the general sentiment of the country allows this traffic to go on, the continued introduction of fresh slaves, of the most brutal appearance and character, already accustomed to slavery as the natural form of society, is calculated rather to increase the present strength of the institution than to prepare the way for its extinction.

It is evidently to this general indifference of the Brazilians as to the traffic, and to their toleration of it, so far at least as a willingness to avail themselves of its advantages extends, that the continuance of the Slave Trade is to be attributed. It would, indeed, be doing great injustice to the best portion of that people to suppose that none of them are sensible of the odious nature of this commerce, and of its desperate effect upon the character of those engaged in it; many of them are anxious for its suppression. The laws of Brazil, though they may be regarded more as the result of foreign influence than as the expression of the wishes of the whole people, are as strenuous against it as those of other civilized countries. But in the absence of any earnest public feeling in opposition to it, and so long as it is sustained by a readiness to accept the advantages which it offers, it would be impossible to execute

these laws. The trade will probably be carried on, as it is at present, not only in violation of the laws of the country, but in open connivance with its authorities. There are political causes which would make the present government of Brazil indifferent about the execution of laws that are intended to destroy an interest which circumstances have made its natural ally; and it is evident, also, that the government, such as we have described it, has not the power to put an end to a traffic which is supported by the people. With or without its connivance, the natural circumstances which have made Brazil the only support of the Slave Trade will continue to offer great facilities for its exercise. This country affords the best opportunity in the world for that perpetual and indefinite occupation of new territory, which is so essential in the economy of slave cultivation; there is room enough for the population to migrate and expand for centuries. Its geographical position, directly opposite the African slave coast, from which the south-east trade winds are constantly blowing over a sea which never experiences a storm, offers to the slaver the quickest and easiest passage which is known across any portion of the Atlantic. Its enormous sea-coast and numerous harbors present every facility for disembarking the cargo at any point that may be desired; and so long as a market can be found for the slaves when once landed, and security for those who are concerned with them, it is hardly possible to imagine an enterprise more difficult, not to say hopeless, than the attempt to put a stop to the business.

The extent which the traffic has attained is not easy to be determined with accuracy. Prosecuted in opposition to the laws and the sentiments of almost the whole human race, and a mark for every attack, its first object is to involve itself in the deepest secrecy. Yet the evidence from various sources makes the number of slaves who are landed in Brazil every year as great as 50,000; and we have more reason to suppose that this number falls short of, than exceeds the truth. The exchange of values, that is, of slaves for the commodities by which they are purchased, takes place through two sets of vessels; the goods, which, by the way, are manufactured generally in England expressly for this traffic, being carried from Brazil in one, the slaves brought back in another. In this manner, while in reality it is just as much aiding

and abetting the slave trade to land a bale of cotton cloth upon the African coast as to bring away its worth of slaves, since there is no other trade known upon the coast, and no equivalent except that of human flesh by which the cloth can be paid for,—one branch of the commerce, and the most difficult one, requiring the most time, and being most open to observation, is kept free of the law, while the other is subject to its heaviest penalties. About one third of the ships engaged, and the slaves embarked, are supposed to be taken annually by the cruisers of different nations upon the African coast. Allowing the average number of slaves to be 500 for each vessel, and two voyages a year to each, we must conclude that, after all that has been done and is doing for the suppression of this trade, there is still a fleet of from seventy-five to one hundred vessels constantly engaged in that portion of it which consists in transporting the negroes; while another class, not so large probably, but still considerable, is occupied in supplying the cargoes which are employed in their purchase. It was reported, a year ago, upon good authority, that there were two steamers regularly employed in the trade between the African and Brazilian coasts.

The profits attending the business are amply sufficient to compensate both for this expensive method of carrying it on, and for the extraordinary risks to which it is subjected. The negroes are purchased on the coast of Africa at a cost varying from seventeen to twenty dollars; when first landed in Brazil, they are sold, if in good health and condition, for about two hundred dollars. A single successful voyage is therefore a fortune for those engaged in it. It is certain that this trade was never in so flourishing a condition, and so little in danger of a violent suppression, as it is at present. Not that the number of slaves transported is greater than before; it may, indeed, be considerably less than at some other times; but the very difficulties and dangers, against which it is prosecuted, have imparted to its conduct a method, skill, concentration and capacity of exertion and resistance, of which it was formerly devoid. The factories or posts along the African coast, through which it is transacted, are now armed and capable of a stout defence. Along the shore, the approach of the cruisers is heralded by couriers, who pass from post to post faster than the ships can sail; and watchers are set and

beacons lighted on the head-lands of Brazil, to warn the approaching slavers of danger or inform them of safety. Being entirely beyond the pale of the law, all its transactions are conducted upon honor, and good faith is strictly maintained, — a circumstance which contributes not a little to the zeal of all concerned in such undertakings, and to their success. This commerce is, in fact, almost the only field of commercial or industrial enterprise which is open to Brazilians. Excluded from foreign trade by the competition of other nations, who enter with superior advantages upon the race, this branch of commerce is reserved for the natives of the country by whom alone it can be carried on. As in the case of the manufacturing interest in this country, it is the business which, with the greatest risks, offers also the highest prizes, in which the largest fortunes have been made in the shortest time, and which affords an unlimited investment for capital, although it is collected in comparatively few hands. Its managers are practical, intelligent, and intrepid men, who have the sagacity to connect their own interest with that of others, and to make the enterprise all the more active and powerful from its concentration. Its existence gives employment to many persons not immediately concerned in it, and acts as a stimulant to many branches of industry. The owners are careful to encourage the idea, in view of the opposition arrayed against it, that it is a national interest opposed by foreign jealousy, and they ring all the changes, which we have heard so often, about the selfish interference of English interests.

It would be a curious subject, were we at leisure to enter upon it, to develop the manner in which the commerce of civilized nations, particularly of England and the United States, assists the slave trade with one hand, while the other is extended to crush it. Among those who have had most to do with the operations against it, it is now generally conceded, that it could not continue but for the assistance which it derives from these two nations, who build the ships which are constantly sold into the trade, and supply manufactured articles for it, and skill and energy in conducting it. At the same time, both governments are professedly making every effort to extinguish it, and their ships of war are permanently cruising off the African coast to intercept the slavers, and

punish with death those concerned in the prosecution of the trade. This has been the case ever since the first attempts were made to put it down, which, it was supposed, might be easily accomplished. There is nothing more certain than that it will continue so long as similar circumstances call the same motives and the same chances into action. Under the present system, there is no probability that it will be prevented, except by such a restriction and virtual prohibition of African and Brazilian commerce as the government of no commercial nation would venture to apply, even if it were able to enforce.

It is with some hesitation that we hazard a few observations in regard to the system which has been pursued for the suppression of the slave trade, and the principles which are involved in that system. For many years, ever since the time of Clarkson and Wilberforce, the moral sensibilities of the world have been directed to this subject by some of the greatest and best of men, and excited to a degree which was never felt in any other instance, or in regard to any other iniquity. The just feeling of indignation and abhorrence thus created has become universal, and it seeks to express itself by sustaining a line of policy in those governments which springs immediately from those sentiments, and is inculcated as the plainest dictate of duty. Under the ascendancy of such ideas, the weight of authority inclines more and more to the support of this policy. It has almost passed into the code of national law, that all nations are bound to aid in suppressing the slave trade. At the last session of parliament, Lord Denman, at the same time that he acknowledged the little success which had attended its previous efforts, declared that it was in the power, and was the manifest duty, of the British government to bring the traffic to an end; and he gave notice of a bill for the more rigorous prosecution of the measures which have been hitherto pursued to that effect.

But while we look upon this inhuman traffic with the same emotions of abhorrence which have filled the minds of so many good men, and cherish the same principles of philanthropy which have urged them to attack it, we suspect that it is unsafe to transfer the principles and motives, which we adopt for the regulation of private life, into the policy of governments constituted as they now are. We are ready to

allow, that the British government, upon which all the measures taken against the trade really depend, is actuated by the motives which it professes, that it simply obeys the benevolent impulse of the British nation, which, thoroughly enlightened upon this point, desires to put a stop to outrage and injustice, and to wipe away a blot upon the history of mankind. But has there been no experience in modern history to show that such motives are of too vague and doubtful a character to influence the action of governments, or to constitute, as in the case of individuals, their line of duty? When the league known as the Holy Alliance was formed, mutually to promote peace, justice, and religion, and to disseminate among the subjects of the contracting powers the love of God and goodwill towards men, there were many who looked with anxiety upon any association of the leaders of so many legions even for benevolent purposes, and the consequences of the league justified their fears. The sovereigns may have been very conscientious, but the example should not be without its effect upon others who endeavor to direct the action of governments by such motives. They are the most powerful which can be brought to bear upon human conduct; but all experience shows that they are as capable as any other, by their exaggeration or misapplication, of leading those who are under their influence into great errors of conduct, and the adoption of false principles. Even on account of its supreme authority over us, we ought to be the more sure that we have really heard the voice of the oracle, and that the measures which are proposed are the necessary result and expression of the feelings of benevolence and duty. It ought particularly to be ascertained whether they are applicable to those interests and obligations which governments are constituted to protect and administer, and in which alone the most powerful administrations can exert themselves without causing a greater evil than they remove. The effect of wrong actions alone is comparatively transitory; but the triumph of false principles in a government may make all future improvement impossible in the society over which it is placed, and may compromise the good effects of a whole epoch of civilization.

That a government which is aware of the immorality and dangerous tendency of this traffic should forbid its citizens to have any connection with it, that it should undertake to

separate them as completely as possible from a temptation so certain to be destructive to private and national virtue, is entirely within its recognized rights and obligations. But it is difficult to see upon what principle it can carry its interference beyond this point, out of its own territory, and attempt to direct the traffic of the people of another country. It is dangerous to allow a foreign nation to be the judge of any wrong. The sufferings of the slaves during the passage have been increased undoubtedly by the activity of the cruisers, and by the measures which the slave ships have been forced to adopt in order to elude them. There is certainly no difference in principle between the slavery of the middle passage, and that which exists before and after, in the interior of Africa or Brazil. Is it because this wrong is perpetrated upon the high sea, which is free to all? But such an interference of a foreign government is denying its freedom to the party, who is neither apprehended by the power, nor tried by the laws and tribunals, of his own country. According to the universal doctrine of the freedom of the seas, every vessel is to all intents and purposes a fraction of its own national territory. It is the same offence against the sovereignty of a nation to invade one of its ships with a foreign law or authority, as it would be to extend such an authority over one of its provinces, and in the cause of humanity, for the sake of justice, the obligation is just as imperative to do one as the other. If a government, then, is bound to exert its power upon those over whom it has no natural authority for the suppression of wrong and injustice, it is bound to pursue them wherever they may be found. It is as much its duty to abolish slavery by force of arms in Brazil and Turkey, as the slave trade on the high seas. And undoubtedly the British government, if it chooses to attempt it, is competent for either of these undertakings. If it is to confine the application of the principle to those cases where it is easy and practicable, let any one decide, in view of all the experience and the authorities, whether the suppression of the slave trade, in the way hitherto attempted is one of these cases.

We have often desired to remind those furious philanthropists, who are so eager to blow up sin with gun-powder, and correct the world with fire and sword, that there are two sides to their favorite principle. It is a proverb that we are all

much clearer sighted in regard to our neighbors' iniquities and deficiencies than our own. Now it might appear to some other nation, say Brazil or France, that there are some evils in the constitution of British society which call loudly for redress. Take Ireland, with her 3,000,000 of beggars, for example; is not her condition the deepest disgrace that can be cited against any age of the world? Is it not a process against, and almost a condemnation of modern civilization? With half the effort, and intelligence, and zeal which have been devoted in England to excite the action of government against the slave trade, *were there as little danger*, the French nation might have been wrought up to a general crusade for the relief of Ireland. Since, in morals, the greater the difficulty the higher is the merit, and the more imperative the obligation of overcoming it, if such principles are adopted into international policy, it may be made to appear the duty of nations to engage in perpetual wars for the spread of truth, the establishment of religion, and the suppression of all manner of injustice. These ideas are by no means new; this has always been the doctrine of the stronger side since wars and fightings began, and always efficient in its service. It is only of late that mankind have begun to be emancipated from them, and the present harmonious intercourse of the nations of the earth with each other, with all its blessings, is the result of the release. We should imagine that these principles had been tried and found wanting sufficiently, by this time, to be finally abandoned.

We never hear those specious arguments, by which the war against the slave trade is proclaimed to be the obligation of all Christian governments, and an expiation for their sins, without being reminded of the manner in which the Spanish Inquisition is represented in the illustrious pages of *Don Quixote*, and generally throughout Spanish literature. There is never any mention of the cruelties and severities, of the terrible processes and unjust judgments, of the interference with the liberty of thought and speech, which have made that institution so notorious in other countries, and so disastrous to Spain. The Inquisition is exhibited only as a faithful servant engaged in reconciling her unfortunate children to the Holy Mother Church, and whose offices all true believers are desirous to engage, — as a terror only to heretics who

deserve no better, and a foe to evil doers. It is true that, in that instance, the parental severities of government were exercised upon its own subjects ; but we are not aware that they are likely to be executed any the less rigorously and unjustly when turned against foreigners ; or that being born an alien to any country renders our errors amenable to its laws, or more rightfully subject to its power. If governments are ever bound to appear as moral champions, and undertake the defence of abstract truth merely as such, there are many reasons why it would be preferable as it is more practicable, that their action should be confined to their own subjects. But in either case, this is nothing else than the establishment of an Inquisition, which is no more to be depended on because it succeeded in Spain and Italy, than because it failed in England and Germany.

We might proceed to urge, that governments, being formed for other purposes, do harm rather than good when they suffer the power which is conferred upon them for these purposes to be turned to foreign objects ; that deriving all their powers from their own subjects, they owe them all their duties ; that every transfer of any portion of their strength or resources from the service of their own subjects must begin by defrauding them of that to which they have a right ; and therefore, that when they take it upon themselves to establish justice abroad, they necessarily create oppression and misery at home. This is certainly true every day of the British government, the great instigator of this movement.

Perhaps it may be suggested, that no acts of hostility are exercised against any persons engaged in the slave trade, except upon the ground of treaties existing between the powers to which both parties are subject, and that the principal commercial nations keep each a large naval force upon the African station to look after their own delinquents. But every government is established to defend and do justice to its own subjects, and it has no right to relinquish those duties to others, or to ask permission of other governments to assume their office. These treaties are only the expression and evidence of that general feeling of abhorrence and detestation which we have described, and which sustains to the full extent any act done in hostility to the slave trade, as done in the service of God and in the cause of humanity, no matter

how unauthorized it may be. If the principle of these treaties is wrong, or improper to be applied in the relations of governments, the treaties themselves are only a means of carrying out the injustice. It is respect to the forms rather than the realities of justice, which has induced the governments that are under the influence of that feeling to fortify themselves by the interchange of such treaties. In principle, one nation is as much bound to exert its superior strength against another, in order to obtain any demand, however exorbitant, which would promote its views of right, as to effect this object through a treaty. For instance, it might demand the abolition of slavery within the foreign territory, and that the execution of the law there should be put into the hands of foreigners. In practice, the treaties are of very little importance, for no flags are respected upon the slave coast except those which are able to protect themselves.

We need hardly observe, that there is nothing in these remarks which is intended to apply to the duty of individuals upon this subject, or of any voluntary association formed for the purpose of discharging such duty. Acknowledging fully that, as individuals, we are not without a right and a duty in regard to any wrong that exists, we look upon such associations for the pursuit of benevolent objects as the only legitimate means of attaining them. But we would insist, that moral objects can be advanced only by moral means. The arm of government, so powerful in its action upon all interests, is paralyzed the moment it attempts to touch upon right. The first effect of such an assumption is to give a color of right to its opponents, whoever they may be. If it is for the interest and well being of the English people, or of any other, that the slave trade to Brazil should be prevented, the question comes within that class of affairs which their government is called upon to consider. The measures which it will be at liberty to adopt for that purpose, whether towards its own subjects or towards the people of other nations, will be determined by the general principles of civil and international law, in which the opposite interests and rights of all nations are represented. But no claim of peculiar obligation or merit can be sustained in regard to the protection of one class of interests, or the suppression of one class of offences, more than of any other.

If the suppression of this traffic is incumbent upon mankind only as a matter of duty, we would submit that it is incumbent not alone upon us, but also upon those by whom it is supported. As we remarked at the commencement, the continuance of the slave trade entirely depends upon the general sentiment of the people of Brazil, which allows them to avail themselves of the seeming advantages which it brings. Those who are so active and unscrupulous in their exertions against it would do well to consider, if it is not arrogating too much to themselves to suppose, that they are the only persons who can be actuated in their conduct by the principles of duty. The enormity and infamy of the slave trade would produce the like abhorrence on the banks of the Amazon as on those of the Thames or the Hudson, if it were brought as fully before the minds of men; and the same instruction would suggest to them the same line of duty. We are happy to be able to quote to this effect the authority of the excellent English consul to Rio de Janeiro, who has probably as much practical acquaintance with this subject as any other person, that if the British government would dismiss their cruisers, and establish a press in Brazil, where the press is entirely free, and a large portion of the people are already in favor of the abolition of the traffic, they would do more in five years towards the desired result than they have effected, at the cost of so much treasure and life, since the commencement of their operations on the coast of Africa. That such a universal sentiment against the African slave trade is possible, even in a country which maintains the institution of slavery, we need go no further to show than to the Southern States of our own country, where the feeling is as strong against it as in any other country that could be named. Indeed, if any conclusion can be drawn from the commercial transactions which are notoriously taking place every week, they would be far less likely to countenance or engage in it than their calculating brethren of the North.

But there are circumstances which are destined to exercise a greater influence than all these foreign efforts combined upon the duration of the slave trade. Its continuance depends upon the present political institutions of Brazil, — in all probability depends upon them so intimately, that any cause which is powerful enough to destroy the one would also do away with

the other. In the spirit of republicanism, which has over-spread the whole continent of South America with the exception of Brazil, that monarchy may be said to stand in the presence of an irreconcilable enemy and of perpetual danger ; and in South America, republicanism includes emancipation and the complete destruction, even to its last relics, of that order of society which is founded upon slavery. Situated in the midst of republics, in the present age of the world, the government can hardly be looked upon at any time as secure from the prevalence of such sentiments among its own subjects. But it is principally from abroad, from the Spanish provinces of the Rio Plata, that danger appears to threaten the perpetuity of the Empire and its domestic institutions.

We have no wish to discuss what is called in South America the " river question ; " but we may cast a brief glance at the state of those countries to which the question refers, and offer such speculations concerning the future political condition of South America as are sufficiently familiar in that part of the world. Notwithstanding the frequent reference to them in the public prints, in connection with the operations of English embassies and squadrons, there is hardly any subject upon which less is generally known than the condition of those ancient Spanish provinces which border upon the river Plata and its tributaries, now constituting the Argentine Republic, the Banda Oriental, and other provinces in the interior whose names are less familiar. Yet behind the barrier of blockades and prohibitions, events are taking place which are calculated to excite the highest romantic and philosophical interest. From the time when they were delivered from the Spanish authority, which had held them for centuries in stillness and subjection, these countries have been passing through all the excesses and extremes — now in the midst of the wildest popular turbulence, and again under the pressure of the most rigid despotism — by which nations are accustomed to work out of social chaos the elements of a new society. Their condition under the colonial rule might be compared to that of some chemical preparation of incongruous and hostile materials, which, as long as their temperature or solidity does not allow them to act upon each other, lie quietly side by side ; but as soon as they are heated or dissolved, they hasten, in the midst of intense action, by means of new

resolutions and combinations, to form some new result. It is through such a fermentation that the countries which lie along the river Plata are passing in our day — through the same experience by which other nations, now more civilized than they, have been tried in their own time.

It would be difficult under any circumstances to determine the importance of each step, and the exact stage of their progress ; it is particularly so when the information concerning them is so meagre and unsatisfactory. But the personal narratives of travellers, and the details given by eye witnesses, have made us acquainted with the aspect of an early state of civilization, and have reminded us in many respects of the life of the European middle ages. There is the same continual turbulence and confusion, the same extraordinary development and overwhelming influence of individual character and will, the same fluctuating and indefinable authority attached to the various offices, which makes it so difficult to understand the exact condition of that period. We hear from time to time of prodigious crimes and political atrocities, committed under circumstances of violence or perfidy which transport us to the times of the Borgias. To our continual astonishment, they are submitted to, as they were then, without remark or apparent repugnance, as if, within the sphere of political affairs, the rulers of mankind were relieved alike from the criterion of their own judgment and the moral law, and pitted against each other, with full liberty to use in the contest all the resources of their strength and cunning. We hear of men elected annually to a perpetual despotism ; of subordinates beyond the control of their principals ; of heads of provinces, who maintain a perpetual authority, nominally in subjection to, but really in spite of, the central power ; of others, who possess some unknown influence over half civilized tribes of Indians, which enables them to bring thousands of warriors into the field, and who must be caressed into security before they can be crushed. There is the same arbitrariness in the enactment and execution of the laws ; the same ignorance and disregard of what we consider the chief interests of society ; the same general and thorough contempt for that last revelation to mankind, the precious truths of political economy.

These things, seen and reported by those who are capable

of considering them only in reference to the standard of ideas of the present time, are regarded as the proof of hopeless and voluntary degeneracy, and excite perpetual exclamations of astonishment and aversion. Seen from another point of view, however, it does not appear that the condition of these countries is so entirely hopeless. It should be remembered, that only through such transitions have nations left to themselves ever arrived at greatness, or an acquaintance with their own capabilities. The condition of all the Spanish colonies has been that of long colonial childhood, in which the elements of a true national character have been forming. It is both natural and necessary, that they should pass through the ungovernable period of national youth, before they can enter upon the graver and happier period of national manhood, with an understanding, derived from experience, of what objects they ought to pursue, and of what they will be able to obtain. The present season of trial and contention is their school of character. It is hardly possible that a people should pass through such a succession of struggles, revolutions, and violent excitements of all kinds, without experiencing the most important and permanent results. No condition is more certain to elicit great individual capacity among a people, nor more likely to consolidate their interests, feelings, and purposes into the harmony of a peculiar, self-formed, really independent nation, adapted to the circumstances in which it is placed, and able to control them. The influence exerted by such a nation, the native growth of the soil, would be immense over the whole of South America. Of its political complection, should such be the future of the Argentine Republic, there can be no question. Throughout all the changes of their government, they have never lost sight of the principle of republicanism. Even the most absolute tyranny has always been nominally derived from the people, and rested on their right of election.

But whatever may be the ultimate result of these convulsions, their immediate effect is to accustom the inhabitants of the Pampas of Buenos Ayres to warlike enterprises, and to create among them all the elements of an active military power. The natural character of their country leads us to regard them, before any other people of South America, as destined to play the part of conquerors; as one of those

hardy races, like the Tartars and the Arabs, who have overrun the earth, and whose career at so great a distance of time, and in another hemisphere, they may be called upon to repeat. Like them, they roam over immense plains, which stretch unbroken from the sea-coast to the Andes. They are perfect in horsemanship, and inured to suffering and privation. Their turbulent history thus far, since their independence, seems to show, that their natural situation has not been without its effect upon their character. For several years, it is well known that the whole power, military and civil, of the government of this country has been in the hands of Rosas, who is a virtual dictator, although the forms of popular election, both to the executive and legislative offices, have always been preserved.

This celebrated party chief may well be regarded as the most distinguished personage of South America, inasmuch as he has played the most important and successful part in the most difficult situation. It is difficult to form an idea of his character which can reconcile in any manner the contradictory opinions that exist concerning him. While he is represented abroad as a mere monster of cruelty, his conduct in the government of the country appears by no means deficient in the qualities of statesmanship. By whatever means he attained his elevation, it seems that he is now less known as a soldier than as a consummate and cunning politician. The nominal warfare which he has carried on for many years against the Banda Oriental, or Republic of Montevideo, and which has occasioned the combined blockade of Buenos Ayres by France and England, ought to be considered rather as a predatory excursion, for the support and employment of his army, than as a regular plan of conquest. But whenever these powers shall have become weary of the support of Montevideo, which was long since only a capital without a country, and suffer it to fall, it will be necessary for Rosas to find some other occupation for his forces. There are already sufficient causes of quarrel between him and Brazil, with which the possession of the state of Montevideo now brings him in contact. Brazil has aided in supporting its independence, and has sided with the European powers in their demands upon Buenos Ayres. But even if no pretext could be found, there is sufficient inducement to hostility in the con-

dition of the southern provinces of the Empire. These provinces, to which access is now entirely open from the States of Buenos Ayres, have always been addicted to republicanism, and have hung loosely upon the body of the Empire. Soon after its independence, and during the reign of Don Pedro I., they were entirely separated from it, and were reunited only after a war of eight years, in which his forces showed themselves unable to reduce them but by an arrangement which incorporated the army of the insurgent provinces into the imperial army. The contest was carried on by both parties, for the sake of strengthening themselves and weakening their opponents, by liberating the slaves of their enemies, a measure which resulted in the very general emancipation of the negroes throughout the theatre of the war. It is therefore confidently expected by many, that Rosas, whenever he is freed from his entanglements with France and England, will proclaim liberty in all senses to those who are in bondage, and will invade Brazil. He can easily overrun the southern portion, already inclined to the republican party, and perhaps carry his successes even to the dismemberment of the country, or entire overthrow of the government.

No one can undertake to predict what will be the course of a policy which depends entirely upon the determination of the Dictator of Buenos Ayres. Although the danger which threatens the security of Brazil should be averted for the present, we cannot see by what means its perpetual recurrence can be prevented. In the very situation of these two nations, lying side by side, one of which is poor and warlike, having nothing to lose and everything to gain, — the other rich and prosperous, superior in the arts of life, and abounding in everything which it is desirable to possess, but enervated by the influence of climate and the long duration of profound peace, and bound hand and foot in the embrace of slavery, — there is that ominous conjunction which has so often proved fatal to great and prosperous countries. It is another repetition of the story of the two nations, one of which had the iron and the other the gold; and unless unforeseen circumstances occur, there is nothing to prevent them from arriving at the proverbial result. When we remember the uniform series of emigrations and invasions, which, in the northern hemisphere, have been made from the North upon

the South, we cannot avoid the conclusion, that, in a certain stage in the progress of society, such is the natural order of events; and we ought to expect in the other hemisphere, at its proper time, a corresponding precipitation of the inhabitants of the higher latitudes upon those of the lower. It will appear then as a movement of the South upon the feeble and inviting North. In the southern hemisphere, and particularly in South America, history is now in its infancy. The nations of that part of the world have just commenced their independent action and education, and it is natural to suppose that they will pass through essentially the same gradations which have marked the progress of its older portions. This presumption is proved so far to be true, by the evident revival which we have noticed in the present condition of Buenos Ayres, in a manner which seems to be borrowed from the earlier period of modern European history. We cannot share the faith of those, who imagine that the experience of former ages of the world will suffice for the instruction of those who come after them, and that there is already sufficient evidence accumulated to convince all men of the bitterness of war and the unprofitableness of conquest. We are obliged to believe, that the same causes will continue to produce the same effects; that similar objects of desire will excite to similar means of gratification in unchangeable human nature; and although those nations of the new world which have sprung from colonies of European origin, commence their history at a higher stage of progress, and may hurry more rapidly through its degrees than if they were making their own way up from barbarism, we can see no reason to suppose that, until they arrive at the point which civilization has thus far attained, they will pursue their interest or their happiness by any other method, or through any different course, than has been pursued by those nations which have preceded them.